

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 IO-11 OMB-01 SAI-01 SAM-01 ACDA-10 OFA-01

EB-07 FEA-01 OES-05 COME-00 DLOS-04 NRC-07 ERDA-07

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R 131010Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6050

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 0506

CINCPAC FOR ALSO FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, JA, UR

SUBJECT: GROMYKO VISIT TO TOKYO

REF: TOKYO 0424

SUMMARY: GROMYKO CONVERSATIONS WITH PRIMIN MIKI AND
FONMIN MIYAZAWA JAN 12 REAFFAIRMED GAP BETWEEN BOTH
GOVERNMENTS ON MAJOR ISSUES, ACCORDING TO PRESS
REPORTS BASED ON OFFICIAL BRIEFINGS. BOTH SIDES HAVE,
HOWEVER, SUCCEEDED IN PRODUCING A COMMUNIQUE, WHICH
WILL BE PUBLISHED MIDNIGHT JAN 13 LOCAL TIME. END
SUMMARY.

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1. FULLTST AND MOST AUTHORITATIVE ACCOUNT OF JAN 12

GROMYKO-MIKI AND GROMYKO-MIYAZAWA CONVERSATIONS
APPEARED IN JAN 13 ASAHI, AS FOLLOWS:

BEGIN QUOTE.

PRIME MINISTER MIKI: LET US HAVE FRANK TALKS.
THE FOUR NORTHERN ISLANDS ARE JAPAN'S ANCESTRAL,
INHERENT TERRITORY. THE USSR OWNS LAND, WHICH IS
60 TIMES AS LARGE AS THE AREA OF JAPAN, AND WHICH IS
SO LARGE AS TO OVERLOOK THE EXISTENCE OF THE FOUR
NORTHERN ISLANDS. REVERSION OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORY
IS A BIG PENDING PROBLEM, WHEN THE FUTURE OF JAPAN-
SOVIET FRIENDSHIP IS VIEWED. WHENEVER WE MEET YOU,
WE MUST TAKE UP THE NORTHERN TERRITORY REVERSION
PROBLEM. LET US FIND MEANS OF SETTLEMENT FOR PREVENTING
SUCH A SITUATION AND CONCLUDE A PEACE TREATY.

FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO: THERE ARE VARIOUS
DIFFERENCES IN VIEWS BETWEEN JAPAN AND THE USSR,
BUT TALKS HAVE BEEN CONTINUED, FROM THE STANDPOINT
OF JAPAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP. WE ARE READY TO CONTINUE
TO EXCHANGE VIEWS, IN THE FUTURE, TOO. HOWEVER,
DISCREPANCIES IN OUR STANDS ARE UNAVOIDABLE. THE SOVIET
SIDE'S WAY OF THINKING MAY BE BOILED DOWN TO THIS.

PRIME MINISTER: TWENTY YEARS HAVE PASSED SINCE
JAPAN-SOVIET DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WERE RESTORED.
THIS IS THE TIME TO SETTLE THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM.
(THE PRIME MINISTER REPEATEDLY CALLED FOR CONCLUSION
OF A PEACE TREATY THROUGH REVERSION OF THE NORTHERN
TERRITORY, FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO ONLY REPEATED
SIMILAR REPLIES.)

FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO: IN REGARD TO OPPOSITION
TO HEGEMONY, PROPOSED BY CHINA AT THE JAPAN-CHINA
PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS, IS IT NOT
THAT CHINA IS PLANNING TO FORCE ITS OWN HEGEMONY
ON JAPAN? THE USSR CANNOT BE INDIFFERENT TOWARD
THIS. IF SUCH A SITUATION ARISES, THEN IT WILL
BECOME NECESSARY TO RECONSIDER JAPAN-SOVIET RELATIONS.
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PRIME MINISTER: THE AIM OF THE PROPOSED JAPAN-CHINA
PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY IS TO SOLIDIFY THE BASIS
OF PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN JAPAN AND CHINA, AND
IT IS NOT DIRECTED AT ANY THIRD COUNTRY. OPPOSITION
TO HEGEMONY IS ONE OF THE PRINCIPLES COMMON TO THE
WORLD. JAPAN HAS NO INTENTION TO REGARD THE USSR WITH
HOSTILITY; IT IS AIMING TO PROMOTE GOOD NEIGHBOR-

LINESS AND FRIENDSHIP WITH THE US, CHINA, THE USSR, AND ANY OTHER COUNTRIES. IT IS A MATTER OF SURPRISE THAT THE SOVIET SIDE IS TAKING THE VIEW THAT CONCLUSION OF THE PROPOSED JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY WILL MEAN THAT THE USSR IS BEING REGARDED WITH HOSTILITY. I WANT TO YOU TO TRANSMIT THIS POSITION OF JAPAN ACCURATELY TO THE TOP SOVIET LEADERS. I ALSO WANT YOU TO REALIZE VISITS TO JAPAN BY THE THREE TOP SOVIET LEADERS, INCLUDING GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV.

FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO: GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV HAS ENTRUSTED ME WITH A MESSAGE, TO THE EFFECT THAT HE "WANTS TO STUDY THE VISIT-TO-JAPAN PROBLEM CONCRETELY, AFTER THE SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS." I HEREBY CONVEY IT TO YOU. MR. PRIME MINISTER MIKI, WE WOULD LIKE TO YOU TO VISIT THE USSR, SOONER OR LATER.

PRIME MINISTER: IT IS NECESSARY ABOVE EVERYTHING ELSE TO SETTLE THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM AND TO CONCLUDE A PEACE TREATY. (AFTER THAT, FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO CITED THE EXAMPLE OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY STRUCTURE, WHICH WAS REALIZED LAST SUMMER, WITH REGARD TO THE "ASIAN SECURITY CONCEPT," TO WHICH THE USSR IS ATTACHING IMPORTANCE, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF PUSHING DIPLOMACY TOWARD ASIA, AND HE EXPRESSED HIS BASIC STAND.)

PRIME MINISTER: THE SITUATIONS IN EUROPE AND ASIA DIFFER. I WANT SELF-RESTRAINT TO BE EXERCISED ON THE FISHING OPERATIONS OF GROUPS OF SOVIET FISHING BOATS IN JAPANESE WATERS. I
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ALSO WANT A FISHERIES LOSS COMPENSATION CLAIM DISPOSITION COMMITTEE TO BE ESTABLISHED ON THE BASIS OF THE JAPAN-SOVIET FISHING OPERATIONS AGREEMENT, AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE. (THE TALKS, HELD THAT DAY, WERE ALSO PARTICIPATED IN BY FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA, DEPUTY CHIEF CABINET SECRETARY KAIFU, AMBASSADOR TO THE USSR SHIGEMITSU, FOREIGN MINISTRY EUROPEAN AND OCEANIC AFFAIRS BUREAU DIRECTOR GENERAL TACHIBANA, FIRST EAST EUROPE DIVISION DIRECTOR ARAI, AND OTHERS, FROM THE JAPANESE SIDE, AND BY FOREIGN VICE-MINISTER FIRYUBIN, AMBASSADOR TO JAPAN TROYANOVSKY, CHIEF ASSISTANT TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER MAKAROV, AND OTHER, FROM THE SOVIET SIDE, BESIDES PRIME MINISTER MIKI AND FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO.) END QUOTE.

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ACTION EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-15 IO-11 OMB-01 SAI-01 SAM-01 ACDA-10 OFA-01

FEA-01 OES-05 COME-00 DLOS-04 NRC-07 ERDA-07 /127 W
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R 131010Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6051

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

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CINCPAC FOR ALSO FOR POLAD

2. FOLLOWING THIRD ROUND OF CONVERSATIONS WITH
GROMYKO, FONMIN MIYAZAWA BRIEFED PRESS AS FOLLOWS,
ACCORDING TO ASAHI:

BEGIN QUOTE.

FROM THE STAND THAT THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM IS
ONE OF THE VARIOUS UNSETTLED PROBLEMS PENDING BETWEEN
JAPAN AND THE USSR, THE SOVIET SIDE AGREED TO CONTINUE
NEGOTIATIONS IN THE FUTURE, TOO. HOWEVER, IN CONNECTION
WITH THIS PROBLEM, THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE TWO
COUNTRIES' POSITIONS WERE EMPHASIZED, FROM BEGINNING TO
END, AND THERE WAS SEEN NO CONCRETE DEVELOPMENT.

RATHER, THE SOVIET SIDE REPEATEDLY ASSERTED THAT
THE CONCLUSION OF A GOOD NEIGHBORSHIP AND COOPERATION
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TREATY WILL PROVIDE A KEY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF THE
PEACE TREATY NEGOTIATIONS.

MOREOVER, MIYAZAWA SAID, "IN REGARD TO THE TALKS
THIS TIME, THE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE INTERNATIONAL
SITUATION, CENTERED ON JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS, CARRIED
GREATER WEIGHT THAN THAT ON THE TERRITORIAL
PROBLEM." CONCERNING THE HEGEMONY PROBLEM, HE ALSO
STATED, "THE SOVIET SIDE REPEATEDLY CRITICIZED CHINA,
BUT THE JAPANESE SIDE WAS ABLE TO EXPLAIN FULLY ITS
BASIC POSTURE TOWARD THE HEGEMONY PROBLEM. I THINK
THAT THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT HAS PROGRESSED,
FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CONDUCTING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE
PROPOSED JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY."

THE CONTENTS OF FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA'S
PRESS CONFERENCE ARE AS FOLLOWS:

-- AS REGARDS THE NORTHER TERRITORY PROBLEM,
TO WHAT EXTENT DID THE TALKS PROGRESS? HOW WERE THE
NEGOTIATIONS CONDUCTED?

FOREIGN MINISTER: AN EXCHANGE OF WORDS WAS
CARRIED OUT TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, BUT THE
SITUATION DID NOT PARTICULARLY DEVELOP AS TO THE
SECURING OF ACTUAL SETTLEMENT. THERE IS NO OTHER
WAY BUT TO CONTINUE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO HAVE THE
GOVERNMENT'S AND THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S WAY OF THINKING
UNDERSTOOD. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SECURE SETTLEMENT AT
ONE STROKE. I HAD BEEN SCHEDULED TO EXPLAIN FULLY
THE JAPANESE SIDE'S BASIC STAND AT THE FIRST ROUND
OF TALKS AND TO LEAVE IT TO THE MIKI-GROMYKO TALKS.

-- FROM BEFORE THE START OF THE TALKS, HAD YOU
EXPECTED DEVELOPMENT?

FOREIGN MINISTER: AS FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO
STATED AT A RECEPTION DINNER PARTY, THE SOVIET SIDE
TOOK THE STAND THAT "THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH WILL
REQUIRE TIME AND PATIENCE." THE JAPANESE SIDE ALSO
THINKS IT WILL REALLY REQUIRE TIME AND PATIENCE.

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-- IS IT THAT THE FACT THAT THE PROBLEM OF GENERAL

SECRETARY BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO JAPAN WILL BE STUDIED AFTER THE PARTY CONGRESS, MEANS THAT A FORWARD-LOOKING POSTURE WILL BE TAKEN TOWARD THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM?

FOREIGN MINISTER: THERE SEEM TO BE VARIOUS IMPLICATIONS, BUT I DO NOT KNOW WELL ABOUT THE REAL INTENTIONS. SHOULD THE VISIT TO JAPAN BE REGARDED AS HAVING CONNECTIONS WITH THE TERRITORIAL PROBLEM, AND SHOULD IT BE VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS? FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO SAID THAT BEFORE LEAVING FOR JAPAN, HE CONDUCTED DISCUSSIONS WITH GENERAL SECRETARY BREZHNEV. HOWEVER, WHEN I PROPOSED TO INCORPORATE IT IN THE COMMUNIQUE, HE EXPRESSED DISAPPROVAL, SAYING THAT "IT IS NOT A FORMAL DECISION."

-- HOW DID THE SOVIET SIDE TAKE JAPAN-CHINA RELATIONS, CENTERED ON THE HEGEMONY PROBLEM? WHAT DO YOU THINK ABOUT ITS EFFECTS ON THE JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY NEGOTIATIONS?

FOREIGN MINISTER: I EXPLAINED JAPAN'S STAND, BUT (THE SOVIET SIDE) REPEATEDLY EMPHASIZED THAT "EVEN IF JAPAN TAKES SUCH A STAND, IT IS NOT KNOWN WHETHER

CHINA IS TAKING THE SAME STAND." HOWEVER, IT WAS EXPLAINED TO A RESPONSIBLE SOVIET LEADER; THEREFORE, I THINK THAT THE CAUSE OF THE SOVIET SIDE'S UNEASINESS HAS BEEN REMOVED.

-- DOES THIS MEAN THAT THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE ENVIRONMENT HAS PROGRESSED, FROM THE STANDPOINT OF CONDUCTING NEGOTIATIONS ON THE JAPAN-CHINA PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY?

FOREIGN MINISTER: I THINK SO.
END QUOTE.

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3. GROMYKO ALSO PAID COURTESY CALLS ON EMPEROR AND DEPPRIMIN FUKUDA JAN 13.

4. DESPITE LACK OF MOVEMENT ON EITHER SIDE, WORKING LEVELS HAVE SUCCEEDED INPRODUCING A COMMUNIQUE. FONOFF INFORMS US DOCUMENT WILL BE ISSUED AT MIDNIGHT LOCAL TIME JAN 13.
HODGSON

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Message Attributes

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